

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 082599
ORIGIN IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 INR-10
NSCE-00 CIAE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 /064 R

DRAFTED BY IO/UNP:STESCUDERO/ATP

APPROVED BY IO:RLBARRY

EUR/NE:RSWOODS

AF/S:JNACH

IO/UNP:TNILES

-----051471 310125Z /14-S

O R 310036Z MAR 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 082599

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 082599

TAGS: PDEV, SF, WA

SUBJECT: NORDIC PRESSURE ON SWAPO

REF:A.STATE 49637 (NOTAL) B. REYKJAVIK 431

1. AT FEBRUARY 22 MEETING WITH DANISH PRIME MINISTER JORGENSEN (REFTEL) SECRETARY VANCE CHARACTERIZED SWAPO'S INSISTENCE ON A SINGLE SOUTHERN BASE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL TROOPS IN NAMIBIA AND CONTINUED PRESSING ON THE ISSUE OF WALVIS BAY AS UNREASONABLE. THE SECRETARY REQUESTED DANISH GOOD OFFICES WITH NUJOMA TO GET HIS AGREEMENT ON BOTH POINTS.

2. TO FOLLOW UP ON THIS CONVERSATION AND MEETINGS WHICH SWAPO PRESIDENT NUJOMA HAS HAD WITH VARIOUS NORDIC LEADERS, AS WELL AS CONTACT GROUP PRESENTATION OF REVISED SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL TO SAG, SWAPO, AND THE FRONT LINE (PERTINENT TELS REPEATED AS APPROPRIATE), ACTION ADDRESSEES TOGETHER WITH OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS SHOULD AGAIN APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS URGING THAT NORDICS CONSIDER USING THEIR INFLUENCE WITH SWAPO AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE TO URGE AGREEMENT TO A COMPROMISE SOLUTION. WE BELIEVE THAT CONTACT GROUP SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL IS FAIR AND BALANCED AND REMAINS THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA WITHOUT YEARS OF GUERRILLA WARFARE. YOU MAY PROVIDE COPIES OF REVISED PROPOSAL TO NORDICS, NOTING THAT IT HAS BEEN ALTERED, WHEREVER THE FIVE FELT THAT CHANGES WOULD ENHANCE THE LIKELIHOOD OF A SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATION, TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF SWAPO AND SAG POSITIONS EXPRESSED DURING THE NEW YORK PROXIMITY TALKS IN FEBRUARY. IN ANY NAMIBIAN ELECTION HELD UNDER UN SUPER-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 082599

VISION AND CONTROL, SWAPO STANDS, IN OUR OPINION, A GOOD CHANCE OF COMING TO POWER. NEGOTIATED TRANSFER OF POWER ACCORDING TO TERMS OF UNSC RESOLUTION 385 WOULD BE IN INTEREST OF SWAPO AND ALL OTHER PARTIES TO THE SETTLEMENT AND WE HOPE NORDICS WILL MAKE THIS POINT.

3. MISSIONS MAY DRAW UPON TALKING POINTS IN USUN 901 (REPEATED TO YOU) AND, IN ANY FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSIONS, MAY DRAW UPON THE FOLLOWING:

-- SIZE AND LOCATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RESIDUAL FORCES:
SWAPO HAS ACCEPTED THAT 1500 SAG TROOPS MAY REMAIN IN NAMIBIA UNTIL ONE WEEK AFTER CERTIFICATION OF ELECTIONS BUT WOULD LIKE THEM RESTRICTED TO A SINGLE SOUTHERN BASE INSTEAD OF THE TWO NORTHERN LOCATIONS SUGGESTED IN THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. SOUTH AFRICA INSISTS THAT 3000 OF ITS TROOPS, OF WHOM 1400 WOULD BE COMBAT TROOPS, REMAIN IN COUNTRY AT TWO BASES AND EIGHT LESSER INSTALLATIONS ALONG THE ANGOLA/NAMIBIA BORDER SUBJECT TO ARRANGEMENTS TO BE MADE WITH THE NEW NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT.

-- RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND

THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL: WE BELIEVE THAT SWAPO WILL ACCEPT THE LANGUAGE OF THE PROPOSAL THAT THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE "MUST SATISFY HIMSELF AS TO THE FAIRNESS AND APPROPRIATENESS OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS" PROVIDED IT IS CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS MEANS THE SR HAS A VETO OVER THE ACTIONS OF THE AG. IN ESSENCE THE FIVE AGREE WITH THIS POSITION BUT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WISH TO FUZZ THE LANGUAGE.

-- WALVIS BAY: BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO INSIST THAT WALVIS BAY IS THEIRS AND SWAPO HAS FURTHER STIPULATED THAT ANY SAG TROOPS WHICH REMAIN IN WALVIS BAY MUST BE COUNTED AGAINST THE 1500 TOTAL WHICH SOUTH AFRICA MAY MAINTAIN IN NAMIBIA DURING THE TRANSITION. THE FIVE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 082599

BELIEVE THAT THE ISSUE OF WALVIS BAY CANNOT BE ADDRESSED EFFECTIVELY BY THE INDEPENDENCE SETTLEMENT AND FEEL THAT IT OUGHT PROPERLY TO BE A SUBJECT FOR NEGOTIATION BETWEEN AN INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. THE WESTERN PROPOSAL AS CLARIFIED IN NEW YORK DOES NOT DEAL WITH WALVIS BAY EXCEPT TO PROVIDE THAT NAMIBIANS LIVING THERE BE ENABLED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ELECTIONS AND TO PROHIBIT

THE STATIONING IN WALVIS BAY OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM NAMIBIA. WE FEEL STRONGLY THAT THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY SHOULD NOT PREVENT INDEPENDENCE.

-- SIZE OF THE UN FORCE: SWAPO INSISTS THAT THE UN FORCE BE SEVERAL TIMES LARGER THAN THE REMAINING SOUTH AFRICAN CONTINGENT AND HAS ARGUED STRONGLY FOR A 5000-MAN MINIMUM. WE FEEL THAT, AS IN SIMILAR PAST CASES, THE NUMBER OF UN PERSONNEL, CIVILIAN AND MILITARY, IN NAMIBIA IS A DECISION BEST LEFT TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL. THE LATTER COULD MAKE HIS DECISION BASED ON TACTICAL, LOGISTICAL, POLITICAL AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS WHICH MAY NOT READILY BE APPARENT IN ADVANCE AND THE EVENTUAL NUMBER OF UN PERSONNEL IN NAMIBIA COULD, UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES, EXCEED 5000.

-- MONITORING OF SWAPO FORCES OUTSIDE NAMIBIA: SWAPO HAS INSISTED THAT ITS FORCES IN ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA NOT BE SUBJECT TO UN MONITORING REGARDLESS OF THE POSITIONS OF THE GOVERNMENTS IN LUANDA AND LUSAKA. THEY AGREE THAT SWAPO FORCES WITHIN NAMIBIA COULD BE MONITORED AND RESTRICTED TO BASE BUT THIS WOULD IMPLY CREATION OF SWAPO BASES IN NAMIBIA AS THERE ARE NONE THERE AT PRESENT. SOUTH AFRICA MAINTAINS THAT HALF OF THE UN FORCE IN NAMIBIA SHOULD MONITOR SWAPO ACTIVITIES IN ANGOLA. WE FEEL THAT SOME ARRANGEMENT TO ENSURE THAT THE ACTIVITIES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 082599

OF SWAPO FIGHTERS OUTSIDE NAMIBIA ARE LIMITED TO NON-MILITARY PURSUITS IS ESSENTIAL TO COUNTER THE SAG ARGUMENT OF A THREAT FROM ACROSS THE NORTHERN BORDERS OF NAMIBIA. ADDITIONALLY, SWAPO ACCEPTANCE OF MONITORING WOULD DO MUCH TO IMPROVE THEIR IMAGE AS REASONABLE NEGOTIATORS.

4. NEW YORK TALKS ALSO RESULTED IN CERTAIN CLARIFICATIONS OF CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL. WE HAVE DISCUSSED CLARIFICATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICANS AND SWAPO IN HOPE OF SECURING ADDITIONAL CONCESSIONS. IF THERE IS TO BE A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, WE BELIEVE THAT BOTH SIDES MUST BE PREPARED TO COMPROMISE FURTHER. NORDIC INFLUENCE COULD BE HELPFUL IN BRINGING SWAPO TO THIS REALIZATION.

5. FYI: DESPITE ENCOURAGING RESPONSES TO EARLIER US AND WESTERN DEMARCHES, AS FAR AS WE KNOW NORDICS HAVE SO FAR DONE NOTHING TO ATTEMPT TO INFLUENCE SWAPO POSITION IN DIRECTION OF CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL. IF NORDICS REALLY WANT TO ASSIST IN ANY MEANINGFUL WAY WITH RESOLUTION OF NAMIBIA QUESTION THEY MUST MAKE THEIR MOVE SOON. END FYI.

6. OTHER CONTACT GROUP EMBASSIES SHOULD HAVE INSTRUCTIONS ALONG LINES OF ABOVE. SHOULD THERE BE ANY VARIATIONS IN TALKING POINTS SENT FROM CAPITALS, POSTS SHOULD TRY TO

WORK OUT DIFFERENCES ON THE SPOT RATHER THAN REFERRING MATTER BACK TO CAPITALS OR TO CONTACT GROUP. COOPER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FORM OF GOVERNMENT, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE082599
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: STESCUDERO/ATP
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780139-0307
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t1978032/aaaaabte.tel
Line Count: 202
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 9a5581bc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 STATE 49637, 78 REYKJAVIK 431
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3188830
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NORDIC PRESSURE ON SWAPO
TAGS: PDEV, SF, WA, DA, SWAPO
To: COPENHAGEN HELSINKI MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/9a5581bc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014